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PRESIDENT WILSON

PRESIDENT
WILSON, *Thomas Woodrow.*

New Statesman

By "AFRICANUS" *✓*

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS distinguished interpretation of President Wilson, is by a writer who brings to his task unusually favourable qualifications. British by birth, ancestry and education, he has had extensive opportunity of studying the political problems of both countries, and, hardly less, the personality of Mr. Wilson.

The author of a number of books, he here elects to be anonymous, for reasons that in a large sense may be termed domestic. The pseudonym "Africannus" is adopted because it will enable his personal friends in England to discover his views on the present momentous situation, and the character of the man upon whom, for the moment, the eyes of the civilized world are fixed.

A. M.

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THE KAISER AND THE
PRESIDENT

PRESIDENT WILSON

To-day he is "the fugitive of Amerongen." Insolence has departed from his eyes and arrogance from his voice. Defeated, his armies have returned to their own country, yielding up part of their home territory to the victors. His Fleet has ignominiously surrendered its most splendid units in a scene of unexampled humiliation. Now he waits on the will of others, disrowned, dishonoured, expecting his yet unknown doom.

The other figure is of one in civilian clothes who has no airs of State, is followed by no lordly retinue. His speech is simple and direct. His smile upon admiring crowds frank and friendly. He is the "President" for a nation of one hundred and ten millions whom he addresses with sedu-

lous care as “My fellow citizens” or “My fellow countrymen.” He has more than once explicitly said in a public address to important gatherings in his own country—“I am not your ruler, I am your servant.” Nevertheless, when he stepped on French soil it seemed as if the world were hanging almost visibly on his decisions. Empires were hungering for his words. The greatest cities of the world prepared themselves one after the other to give him a welcome more than royal—the welcome of happy human beings to a leader of humanity. It is true he once referred to himself before a great meeting of the American Federation of Labour as follows :—“I am introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I will be pleased if

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you will put the thought of the office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow citizens who has come here to speak, not the words of authority, but the words of counsel . . . (in) a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national world conception." But these characteristic words which deprecate attention to himself, rather draw our attention to him and we ask with some wonder in our hearts : What kind of man is this, and what day is this in which we live, when one who is the virtual ruler of a great nation, sincerely strives to distract attention from himself, rather to hide himself behind the tasks of the hour and the problems of the world ?

The visit of the President of the United States to Europe is one of the great results of the war. It is an event whose significance for the future is beyond our reckoning at present. For when President Wilson stepped on board the steamer and sailed to France he created a situation which will affect international relations round the world. America has hitherto directed her foreign policy mainly on the basis of two great principles, both possessing an authority that belongs only to national traditions which have been deliberately adopted by a long succession of great statesmen, and have recommended themselves to the judgment of their country. The first of these is derived from the solemn warning uttered by George Washington, the first Presi-

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dent of the Republic who insisted that the American people must avoid all "entangling alliances" with the Governments of Europe. The second principle of international conduct is known as the Monroe Doctrine. Like all great principles of international policy it has had a widening history of its own. Its meaning has been discovered to be much more complex than President Monroe imagined when it was promulgated. In substance it asserts that the United States of America will view as an unfriendly act any effort on the part of a European Government to obtain or extend its dominion over any portion of the western hemisphere. This principle has undoubtedly saved the world as well as the Americas from much trouble and is one which all the

republics of that hemisphere will unite to maintain.

The effect of this two-fold policy, one of which disowns all offensive action and the other of which defines a course of defensive action has deeply influenced, not only the international conduct, but the inner character of the American people.

With a vast territory and as yet untold natural resources at its disposal, the Government of America has found its chief interests and greatest problems within its own borders. It has striven to make the country self-complete by the development of its soil, its metals, its forests and other forms of national wealth. Yet it would be wrong to say that the country had become self-satisfied, or even self-centred. It has

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always felt the stir of democratic ideas which inevitably involve self-criticism. It has always felt the stir of humanitarian ideals which have compelled its thinkers, its statesmen, its poets, its preachers to look beyond its own vast domains and conceive of a mission to the world which it might fulfil. From the beginning of its history, strange to say, the American Republic has conceived of itself as established in the world by a Divine Providence to realize certain ideals, to defend and, so far as possible, to promulgate them for the good of mankind. This fact finds frequent expression in the words of President Wilson. "America," he says, "has a great cause which is not confined to the Continent, it is the cause of humanity itself." "America," he

says again, "has promised the world to stand apart and maintain certain principles of action which are grounded in law and justice." But again he says: "Our ambition is not only to be free and prosperous ourselves, but also to be the friend and thoughtful partisan of those who are free, or desire freedom the world over."

It is in keeping with this spirit which from the beginning has been avowed by so many American leaders that we find the people of that land giving themselves with great enthusiasm to various great philanthropic causes throughout the world. It was long ago remarked as a peculiar fact that many so-called "World movements" were started in America, the very land whose Government strove

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to keep itself apart from the political interactions of the other nations. The work of its Churches, in foreign missions and education, is famous in all parts of the earth. It was in America that the "world's Christian temperance union" with its ambitious schemes arose; it was there that the world's student Christian federation was born, an institution whose influence upon the higher life of the Universities of nearly all nations has been growing rapidly for thirty years. Repeated world conferences of religious educationists have been organized by American men and women, and the League to Enforce Peace was established in America, with that noble American, Ex-President Wm. H. Taft, at its head.

Nevertheless, America down to last

year had sought most earnestly to maintain a real and almost complete political isolation. Even the Spanish War, which put America in possession of the Philippines, did not convince her citizens that they were in the full current of the world's life. Many leading American statesmen—some suspect it even of President Wilson—always seemed to treat the possession of the Philippines as an accident and a misfortune, an entanglement from which the country must free itself as speedily as possible. The spell of George Washington and James Monroe was still upon them. The sense of separation from the rest of the world by

“The salt, unplumb'd, estranging sea”

was not yet broken down in spite of

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an increase of commerce between its shores and other lands, and the annual rush of tourists from its great eastern seaports to Europe and the East.

It was Germany which broke the spell. At the outbreak of the war the sinister propaganda of that Empire, which used New York and Washington as if they were suburbs of Berlin, awoke the suspicion and then the indignation of the whole country. The United States wished to maintain only commercial and social relations with the rest of the world, but the long reach of German imperialism dragged it into the centre of political strife. Then submarine warfare came and the American people found that Germany had abolished the estrangement of the sea. Europe had invaded America politically and even by force

of arms. And then, for the first time in its history, America broke into Europe. At first it had confined its energies in the war—so far as Government action was concerned—to the great labours of philanthropy, especially in Belgium and France. Now it has sent its armies two millions strong across three thousand miles of ocean peril, and its fleet has operated in European waters.

To-day the President has followed the armies and the fleet, of which he is Commander-in-Chief. With his counsellors, he stands in the midst of the Old World. He had been both the spokesman and the inspirer of the policy of his country during these years of war, and as he now in Europe represents his country in a fashion unprecedented, impressive, moment-

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ous, it is only natural that the question should arise in a myriad minds "What kind of man is this?" "Who is it who has thus broken the tradition of his country, made decisions which have amazed and shocked the conservative element among his fellow citizens, and brought the statesmen of Europe to see and feel in the depths of their souls that the incursion of America is an event whose importance for the whole world is only matched by the vastness of the Kaiser's broken ambitions?"

From the beginning of the world war in August, 1914, the eyes of Europe were fastened on America with a strange and even pathetic interest. But when international relations are concerned one man in America counts above all the rest of

the population, namely, the President. Hence men who had treated his election two years before with mild and amused interest suddenly discovered in August, 1914, that this "School-master on a throne" held in his hands a large part of the world's life. The world's agony flowed into his study at the White House, pleading for sympathy, for understanding, for relief.

From the beginning, Mr. Wilson's method of dealing with the situation created bitter controversy, both in his own country and in Europe. Both Germany and the members of the Entente believed themselves aggrieved by his successive Notes. A large section of his own people were in part made indignant by what they considered his timid or vacillating or

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even immoral attitude towards the war. The Germans in America condemned him for favouring the Allies. Those Americans, and they were many, who from the first desired that their country should enter into the struggle against Germany, spoke of him with unbounded anger and moral indignation. His policy was attacked literally from every quarter. And yet Mr. Wilson gradually emerged as one of those with whom all nations must reckon after a new fashion. Germany discovered that there was that in him which she had misunderstood. The Allies began to see a consistency, a definiteness of meaning in his handling of the situation which they had not at first suspected. Gradually his declarations of policy began to assume the

aspect of a system of doctrine. He interpreted the meaning of the universal convulsion with crystalline clearness, and it became evident that, as his people grasped that meaning, the will of the nation would rise to act in consistency with it.

Nevertheless, to the present hour President Wilson is the centre of unending controversy among his own fellow citizens. In Europe the effect of his conduct has been strange. One might almost say bizarre. Enthusiasm and confidence very gradually took the place of sneering and scepticism, and even bitter hatred, towards him both in France and Great Britain. In Germany the unconcealed contempt with which he and his Government were treated by Imperial Ministers and Ambassa-

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dors at the start gave way first to perplexity, then amazement, then fear, then defiance; and now there is grovelling humility. It may be assumed in advance of any further discussion of the spirit, character and aims of this man that he has distinctiveness, strength, that he is ruled by convictions. It cannot be that he is without emotion, it must be that he has great self-control. It cannot be that he is the plaything of circumstances, it must be that he takes account of and judges and acts upon the facts that are before him. It cannot be that he is a diplomatist of the traditional European type, it must be that he knows human nature and is skilled to deal with men in such fashion as to win their regard and to win his way.

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His weapons are almost as new in international affairs as the acroplanes and tanks, and so used that the results amaze the world.

It is well worth while to see whether, with the materials at our disposal, it is possible to form a just estimate of one whose position in the world startles us alike with the freshness of his spirit and the greatness of the forces which are in his grasp.

**THE STAGES OF
PREPARATION**

II

THE STAGES OF PREPARATION

IT would be out of place to attempt in these pages to give a detailed biography of Woodrow Wilson. It is sufficient to describe in general those elements in his training and stages of experience which have contributed to fit him for the position of extraordinary power which at present he occupies at the very centre of the world's history.

The grandfather of President Wilson, James Wilson, emigrated from Ireland to America in the beginning of last century. He was a printer and became a successful newspaper

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publisher in the Middle West. His son Joseph, born in 1822, married Janet Woodrow, who was born at Carlisle in England and was the daughter of a Scotsman, the Rev. Thomas Woodrow. Of these parents the future President was born at Staunton, Virginia, December 28, 1856, and was called Thomas Woodrow, but since College days has disused the first name.

He lived as a boy through the Civil War in one of those few spots of the south which did not experience the actual ravages of battle or invasion. He seems to have been sheltered from too intimate and harrowing contact with the details of the great tragedy ; but the period of "reconstruction," as it is known in America, came as he entered on his 'teens and un-

doubtedly exercised a profound influence upon him. His mind may then have been naturally directed with great energy upon the problems of government, as he heard them discussed day by day, by those who were enduring their agony. He was living in a region where a just and orderly government appeared for a considerable time to have collapsed, and he watched order very slowly emerge from utter chaos and shame. He experienced what countless boys are facing to-day in many parts of Russia, Germany and other disturbed regions of Europe.

His father was, through his early life, his chief instructor. A Presbyterian minister of the best type he exercised upon his son a profound influence which is reflected in the dedication of

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that son's first book. The dedication runs as follows: "To his Father, the patient guide of his youth, the gracious companion of his manhood, his best instructor and most lenient critic." A fit tribute for the noblest fatherhood.

When he was nineteen years of age, after attendance at other schools, young Wilson entered Princeton College, from which he graduated in 1879. It is significant that while an undergraduate, he wrote a long article which appeared in the *International Review* on the subject of "Cabinet Government in the United States." The article attracted the attention of students of government for its own sake, and produced a wide interest when it became known that so well-informed, wise and eloquent

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a discussion had been written by a young man in his senior year at College. Young Wilson went from Princeton to the University of Virginia, where he became a law student. For a year he tried to practise law at the city of Atlanta, Georgia, but decided at the end of the year that if he were to carry out his personal ideals, he must prepare for an academic career rather than continue that of a practising lawyer. He entered Johns Hopkins University, where he remained for two years and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1886.

The conferring of this degree followed the publication of his first book, entitled *Congressional Government: a Study of the American Constitution*. This work immediately revealed a

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mind capable of dealing with the most complex problems in the history of government, and one of clearly independent judgment. It has made its mark in the history of its subject and contains many acute criticisms as well as some forecasts which throw light even upon his own conduct as President of the United States.

A second edition of this work appeared in the year 1900, for which a new preface was written. It is of great interest to see in the light of later events that Mr. Wilson had been watching with the closest interest certain remarkable developments of the American form of government which had occurred since the first edition of his work was published. Of peculiar import are those sentences in which he refers to subtle changes

which had been going on in the relation of the office of President to the other functions of American Government. In describing the effect produced upon the functions of the Presidency by the recent war against Spain, he speaks of the "greatly increased power and opportunity for constructive statesmanship given a President, by the plunge into international politics and into the administration of distant dependencies which has been the war's most striking and momentous consequence. When foreign affairs play a prominent part in the politics and the policy of a nation, the Executive must of necessity be its guide; must utter every initial judgment, take every first step of action, supply the information upon which it is to act,

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suggest and in large measure control its conduct. . . .

“There is no trouble now about getting the President’s speeches printed and read, every word. Upon his choice, his character, his experience, hang some of the most weighty issues of the future.”

Then began Mr. Wilson’s career as a teacher. First he had three years as a Professor of History and Political Economy at one of the most famous of the Woman’s Colleges in America, viz :—Bryn Mawr College, near Philadelphia. After that, he had a brief taste of life in New England, where he occupied a similar Chair at Wesleyan University, Connecticut. A significant remark at this period is attributed to Dr. Charles Elliot, the venerable ex-President of

Harvard University, who in sending his regrets at being unable to attend a Conference of College professors, said, in effect : " I see you have the name of Professor Woodrow Wilson on your programme. I advise you to watch that young man, because in my opinion he will go far."

It was in 1890 that Professor Wilson returned to his own College and became a Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy at Princeton. In the year 1897, a special course on Politics was assigned to him. During the years of his professorship at this University, he became one of its most inspiring teachers. His class rooms were crowded. His influence over the students was most remarkable. They were not merely fascinated by an eloquence which made his

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teaching one of the most exciting experiences of their lives, they were also aroused to a sense of responsibility for their place in the life of their country. Their teacher aimed directly and constantly at quickening in them the ambition to serve their country, to give their lives, whatever their careers might be, to the noblest form of citizenship. It was very natural, therefore, when the Presidency of the University became vacant that he should be called to that high position in 1902.

Up to this period in his life Mr. Wilson had been, as we have seen, a close and fearless student of the government of his country and of its international relations. Those who have discussed these subjects with him are able to bear witness that

some of those unusual steps which he has taken as President of the United States were not taken by him suddenly as by one who had not considered them until after his election. Many years before he became President he had, for instance, made up his mind that some more adequate substitute must be found, appropriate to American conditions, for the British Cabinet system which is so different from that of the United States ; he felt it to be a loss and a departure from the original intention of the founders of the Republic that successive Presidents had abandoned the custom of personally appearing before Congress to read their messages to that assembly ; a loss to the smooth working of the relations of the executive and legislative bodies when the

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President was not in constant consultation with those whom the House of Representatives and the Senate had charged with the responsibility for various departments of legislation. He had also long before weighed with peculiar coolness of judgment the fact that in the American system as at present operated, the President is held responsible for all governmental action during his period of office, even that of the Congress. Hence the vast field of legislation must be brought under his survey. He must discover those directions in which the mind of the people is already moving on important changes of law, and those directions in which it is for the highest interest of the people that their attention should go. Still further, he had long ago laid peculiar

stress upon the familiar fact that the President can have no true influence as a guide of legislation unless he continue to be the active head of the party which controls the Congress.

And, finally, he had grasped with again peculiar clearness and decision the fact that in his conduct of the various processes of government which the constitution and the development of history have put into his hands, the President must keep in constant, frank and open communication with the whole people. He must do this that he may learn from them. He must do this that they may know what his purposes are and the direction of his policies. He must do this in order that he may help to keep the legislative functions of Congress in closest contact, not

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only with the needs, but with the conscience of the whole nation.

All these and other convictions which he has translated into action were the fruit of the long years of laborious study which he devoted to the subject of government and to the history of politics in his own and other lands.

When he became President of the Princeton University Mr. Wilson entered upon his third period of preparation for the present hour. A University is comparatively a small place compared with a whole nation, but in the conduct of its affairs a man has to use almost all those fundamental powers and qualities which are exercised by the ruler of a people. He is at the head of a distinct community, and in America

it is a community of energetic, independent minds. It is his duty to grasp the meaning of the community, its constituent elements and its aims, to grasp the character of those who compose it so as to discover their active relation to and influence upon that fundamental meaning. The community consists of various elements whose interests on the surface often seem to be opposed, while deep down their roots draw life from a soil of common purposes and common principles. The President of such an institution must attend to all three of the fundamental elements of national government. He must preside over legislation. He must direct administration, He must even exercise judicial functions. All this work he must carry on under the peculiar

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restrictions imposed by academic ideals, and even let it be said amid the embarrassing considerations of academic courtesy.

Part of Mr. Wilson's preparation for the Presidency of the United States came by way of deep divisions of policy within the University body, involving bitter and unreconcilable controversy which left its mark, alas, upon the institution and all who are concerned with it. The details of this experience need not be entered into here, nor would it be seemly to express any judgment as to the rights and wrongs of the several parties involved. Sufficient is it to say that Mr. Wilson conceived himself as engaged in a fight wherein certain fundamental principles of social organization and of University

policy were put at stake. He wished to deliver the University from what he considered to be a discrimination on the part of the rich and self-indulgent against those who were relatively poorer and also more diligent in their pursuit of learning. The proposals which he made to preserve a democratic spirit and a more generous community life in the University were met by resentment on the part of many who believed that his accusations were exaggerated and his methods unnecessarily severe.

Another phase of the difficult situation was created in the working out of plans for the establishment of a Graduate School in connexion with the University. Up to that time graduate work had been minor in quantity, even though not in quality,

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and it was determined to erect a powerful institution for the promotion of learned research, in many directions. This raised questions as to the relation of the body of advanced students to the main body of the University. Mr. Wilson cherished deeply a definite plan which related itself to his whole conception of the future development of the University. In this he was vigorously opposed by some of his colleagues.

Throughout these discussions Mr. Wilson was striving to hold before his own University and before the academic world of America certain ideals of education which he had long considered, and on which he had formed profound convictions. His exposition of these principles was spread abroad as he lectured and gave

addresses of various kinds before gatherings of University men in different parts of the country. He became known as one of the most distinguished academic leaders in the land. He became noted, not only for his earnest grasp of far-reaching theories of college life and work, but for the unusual beauty of his style as a speaker. He had long seen very clearly that if the country was to be rescued from a fatal materialism of spirit, education must adhere to certain ideals of learning and of true culture which were in danger of destruction. For example he recognized the immense contribution which science has made to human well-being and to our understanding of the course of natural history; but he insisted always that "the proper

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study of mankind is man.” The human spirit has been unfolding itself from the beginning of the human story and the deepest, strongest influence which can mould the character of young men is to be found in a personal acquaintance with the highest virtues, with the noblest efforts of great men, in the great periods of the past.

Alike in his shaping of the curriculum at Princeton and in his advocacy of his convictions at other centres of learning, he showed that his mind had not arrived at his theories in an easy and shallow manner, but only through a prolonged and close study of all the relevant facts. This may be illustrated by a passage from the address delivered by him at Princeton before a great body of learned men,

European and American, at a famous University celebration in 1896. On that occasion Mr. William expressed himself as follows :—

“ Science has not changed the laws of social growth, has not changed the nature of society, has not made history a whit easier to understand, human nature a whit easier to reform. It has won for us a great liberty in the physical world, a liberty from superstitious fear and from disease, a freedom to use nature as a familiar servant ; but it has not freed us from ourselves. It has not purged us of passion, or disposed us to virtue. It has not made us less covetous or less ambitious, or less self-indulgent. On the contrary, it may be suspected of having enhanced our passions by creating wealth so

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quick to come, so fickle to stay.

“ Can any one wonder then that I ask for the old drill, the old memory of times gone by, the old schooling in precedent and tradition, the old keeping of faith with the past, as a preparation for leadership in days of social change ? ”

It was at the height of the great crisis in the history of Princeton University that President Wilson's political career began. Already there had been many suggestions made that he might become a candidate for the Presidency of the United States at the next election in November, 1912, but it was generally felt that it would be very difficult to carry a man from an academic career directly into that high station without an intervening political experience.

The opening for this experience came when he was nominated for the Governorship of the State of New Jersey, by the democratic party in that State. When he accepted the nomination, Mr. Wilson immediately resigned the Presidency of the University and threw himself with great ardour into his first political campaign. It is not exaggerating to say that he swept the State into unexpected enthusiasm over his person and his policy, one citadel of republican strength after another yielding to his persuasive speech. Thousands of young men were inspired by his exposition of the true task of a Government and of the problems presented by the commercial, social and industrial conditions of New Jersey. He was triumphantly elected and

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entered the office of Governor on January 17, 1911.

We have already noted three periods in Mr. Wilson's preparation for the office he occupies to-day. The first was his experience of misrule in the south while yet a boy and the attraction which the problems of reconstruction presented to his youthful mind. The second was the prolonged years of ardent study given to history, economics, constitutional government, international law, diplomacy and politics throughout his academic career. The third was his experience as President of a university and the exponent of almost revolutionary ideas in the field of higher education. The fourth period of preparation was now entered upon when he became Governor of the

State of New Jersey. The details of that brief period need not be related here. Suffice it to say that Governor Wilson set himself fearlessly to secure legislation which would purify at the fountain head the unhappy conditions into which the State had fallen.

He began by breaking down the power of the political bosses who had infested the life of the State with the most corrupt practices. Then in the field of legislation he proposed one law after another which were intended to correct various abuses in the business conditions and to open the channels of healthy life. He adopted and learned to practise two important methods of operation. When he proposed a law which the legislators seemed unwilling to consider or to adopt, he entered into

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matter that in these two years Mr. Wilson both won an important range of experience and proved his power as a great leader of public opinion and governmental action. Thus the crown was set to the unusual course of training by which this quiet student had, through the years, been prepared for the lofty position which he at present occupies.

**A PICTURE OF THE MAN
HIMSELF**

III

A PICTURE OF THE MAN HIMSELF

IT is fitting that at this point in his career, when he is about to step out from the local glory of the Governorship of one State, we should try to form a picture of this man. When he becomes President of the United States, to direct the policy of a great nation, he stands on a platform where all men will soon have their eager eyes fastened upon him, with ears attent to hear his words. What kind of man is he, physically, intellectually, spiritually ?

Most people have been made fami-

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liar by public photographs with the personal appearance of President Wilson. Nearly six feet in height, his figure is that of one accustomed to walk with a steady, strong stride, carrying himself without too much of what is known as the "scholar's stoop." His face is one of which he himself professes to have a humble opinion, and he has adopted, as his own, the well-known Limerick :

For beauty I am not a star ;

There are others more handsome by far,
But my face I don't mind it,

For I am behind it,
It's the people in front that I jar !

This, however, is a humorous libel upon himself. The caricaturists have laid hold of three distinguishing features—the broad and finely moulded forehead, the strong and prominent

nose, the vigorous and determined jaw. While he is often represented as being most severe of countenance, this is not the impression of him carried in the minds of his friends. They have seen his grey eyes gleaming with merriment, his wide mouth yielding to laughter, his winsome smile. They remember the voice without harshness, somewhat light in its timbre, but carrying fire when he addresses a large audience.

Any estimate of the man as an intellectual and spiritual force must take account of the fact that he possesses many of the elements of true genius. No more convincing proof can be given of this fact than that he is criticized from opposite points of view by his opponents. Perhaps no more telling picture of

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the man can be made than that which emerges when we consider these contradictory descriptions which his enemies have given of his character and his policy.

For example, at the beginning of his career as President he was constantly described as being idealistic, unpractical, dreamy in his outlook upon the world and in his conceptions of what it is possible to make of that world through political action. And there is much in all his speeches and in all his writings which proves that he is a man whose mind is at home among ideals of the loftiest kind. But he had not gone far in his Presidential career when men complained of him that he was a "mere politician." He was accused of "keeping his ear to the ground"

when he dealt with such problems as those presented by the appeals and agitations of the Labour Unions, the advocates of Woman's Suffrage, and so forth. As a matter of fact, Mr. Wilson seems to combine both these capacities. He can see far off ideals but is sensitive to present and practical issues. He can listen to the cry of human need and passion, and to the voices of universal law.

Again, there are those who have maintained that he is a man of weak and flabby will, who has drifted from one policy to another, according to the exigencies of the moment. As an illustration of this it is easy to cite his sending of the American fleet to Vera Cruz in Mexico, and its recall; the mobilizing of the American troops on the Mexican border,

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and their return without a real warfare; the threat in the winter of February, 1915, that he would hold Germany to "strict accountability" for her submarine policy, and his refusal to carry out the threat until February, 1917. On the other hand, there are those who maintain that Mr. Wilson is of a peculiarly stubborn will, that when he has made up his mind to take up a certain position no argument will change him, no appeals can make his inflexible will waver from its object. For this also much proof can be offered from his public transactions. It is only a variation upon these contrasted statements, when it is said that he is unwilling to learn from others and yet also that he cannot be counted on to maintain con-

sistency in his policy if he is influenced by certain classes of people.

It is yet another phase of the same type of criticism, which, on the one hand proves that he has been false to his friends, and, on the other, with a greater amount of evidence that he sticks to his friends through thick and thin. Of course it is easy to urge that in both lines of conduct he is guided wholly by sinister motives. And we must reckon with those who maintain that the conduct which looked like the forsaking of friends or that which was called mere stubbornness when he supported men who were under fire, sprang from deeper sources than the brutal considerations of a merely selfish man.

Again, Mr. Wilson has suffered from the widespread conviction that

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he entered upon the office of President as a confirmed, theoretical devotee of peace at any price, and that his whole conduct of negotiations with European powers from the inception of the great war, as well as his manner of dealing with Mexico, arise from an enthusiastic devotion to some vaguely defined position known as pacifism. In proof of this opinion, it is possible to cite various passages in his public statements which seem to indicate that he would rather do anything than engage in war, and would even go to extremes in the sacrifice of national pride in order to avoid the shedding of blood. This criticism stands in peculiar relation to the reputation which he had before he became President. For, in the years

when he directed the history of Princeton University his reputation was by no means that of a pacifist—rather was he considered the type of man who loves the war-path, who shrinks from no severity of language, no abruptness of action, in the determination to carry his convictions into effect, even over the opposition of strong men.

These contrasts of judgment might be carried further, for there are those who maintain on the one hand that he has the spirit of a dictator and an absolutist, on the other hand, those who maintain that he is a demagogue with a heart fluttering like aspen leaves to every breath of popular opinion. There are those who insist that he sacrifices principles publicly announced in order to

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serve the interests of his political party, and others who insist that he has no true insight into the principles on which a party can be successfully maintained in power, that he destroys its influence with the public by an incalculable adhesion to his purely personal opinions or policies.

Now it is impossible to believe that all these things are said without some shadow of evidence for each of them, and yet it would seem that the man of whom such contradictory estimates are formed must be a man of singular distinctiveness of character, breadth of outlook, strength of will. Either he has nothing worth calling personality, and then the riddle becomes dark indeed, or his personality must be one of unusual composition. Either he has drifted

to the position he occupies at this hour in the world's opinion by a series of absurd accidents, like a piece of flotsam thrown from wave to wave till it is flung upon a rock, or there is some unusual standard by which his conduct of affairs is to be judged and his spiritual stature measured. Perhaps we may venture to use such a standard without any attempt to defend the details of President Wilson's public actions, and yet with the desire to discover and do justice to his real self, by a careful consideration of two fundamental elements of human nature.

In the first place let us start with a statement which he once made about himself when he said, while modestly explaining some phase of his public policy, that he possesses

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only "a single-track mind." This statement is an illustration of the well-known fact that it is extremely difficult for a man to understand himself. As a matter of fact, Mr. Wilson possesses a mind of extreme sensitiveness, his imagination is quick and fiery, his vision moves out in many directions in the consideration of every problem presented to it. He very rapidly seizes the different possibilities of any given situation. It is this quality of his mind which makes him akin to poets and seers, which seems to lend some colour to the accusation that he is changeful, or even weak of will. On nearly every great, new topic it is safe to say that his mind for a time is alive to all sides of it, that he rapidly scans the possibility of action

in this direction and in that, that he is held in suspense by this very power of rapid scrutiny on all sides of the question. If forced to act prematurely, he will tend to act experimentally before his mind is clear, before his survey of all the possibilities has led him to a conclusion secure and final.

It is this quality of his mind which accounts for that aloofness of which even his colleagues complain. It has often been remarked that when a new phase of the war situation arose suddenly, the President would be almost invisible for a day or two. His enemies accused him of excessive self-reliance. His friends understood the struggle which his own unusual capacity forced upon him. To say that he deliberately avoids taking

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counsel with his fellows is in direct contradiction to the experience of those who worked with him in quieter days. It is also in contradiction with another more sure estimate of himself which he gave in an address before an important body of business men in July, 1916 :

“ I never went into a Committee of any kind upon any important public matter, or private matter so far as that is concerned, that I did not come out with an altered judgment and knowing much more about the matter than when I went in ; and not only knowing much more, but knowing that the common judgment arrived at was better than I could have suggested when I went in. That is the universal experience of candid men.”

These words are probably true of that period when Mr. Wilson is thoroughly investigating a new situation and eager to get light upon it from every quarter.

The truth is that while Mr. Wilson has a many-tracked mind, he really possesses a single-track will. When after long brooding and full consultation with the authorities at his disposal and in the light of the fundamental principles of his life, he has adopted a definite policy, his committal is complete. Henceforth he will pursue his purpose to the end with unrelenting conviction and unwearying force. If he be determined to argue the German Government into a position where it shall stand condemned before the bar of international law, he will pursue this end

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in spite of all criticism, contempt, indignation until that Government confesses itself to be in the wrong. This is what President Wilson did from February 10, 1915, when he addressed his first note of warning to Germany on her submarine policy until May 8, 1916, when he accepted the decision of the German Government to conduct its submarine warfare in accordance with the principles of international war.

It was in accordance with the same law of his mind and will that Mr. Wilson, when Germany broke her promise, having decided that the word of that Government could no longer be relied upon in any circumstances, then moved out upon the inevitable and tremendous conclusion, and set himself to prepare for

the declaration of war. Through what gradual processes his mind grew to that momentous decision it is impossible for any one but himself to declare. What the world knows is that when his judgment was formed it was formed inflexibly, that when the war became the duty of his country he pursued that end with exactly the same measure of fierce determination with which he had faced the criticism of the world as he strove to maintain peace. In each direction he believed that his will was guided by the facts of the case and the same star of duty; and in each direction that will maintained itself with a determination that did not waver from its goal.

But any estimate of Mr. Wilson's personality must be entirely inade-

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quate which does not take full account of the facts revealed by even a brief study of his biography. He is, as we have seen, a man bred in home and Church and civic life, to the possession of permanent convictions. He believes that there are eternal and changeless rules of righteousness and humanity. With all the sternness of his religious and national ancestry, he has grasped the fact that the nations of the world are ruled according to a law which is implanted deep in the nature of things, which emerges in the life of the human conscience, which is broken only at the cost of human distress, and even of national destruction.

He believes also, more in the spirit of modern times, that it is the task of humanity to become

humane, that it is possible to reconcile mercy and righteousness, that there is something deeply sacred in all human beings, which not only demands justice and the retribution of wrong-doing but elicits also pity and compels the strong everywhere to suffer for the weak, which calls on the mighty to lift up the lowly and the oppressed. "The interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest," he has said in one of his greatest addresses.

The man in whose soul these principles are established and who is put in a position of rarely paralleled power among the nations of the world, must be compelled to act in ways which would offend those two great and opposite classes of people into whom most of the civilized

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world is divided. The weaklings who think mercy can never exert force and bring just retribution upon wrong-doing will condemn him when he resorts to war. The warlike who believe first and last in force as the true reconciler of international relations, will have no patience with his doctrine that nations must learn to act as individuals do, showing sympathy to the weak and exerting willing compassion wherever penitence can be secured.

A picture of Woodrow Wilson would be incomplete which did not name, without elaboration, some facts concerning the lighter side of his life. He has been from early days a wide reader of the best literature, as his published essays prove. He is a lover of poetry, and probably

knows Wordsworth best. He has been known to say that his children could not remember a time when they did not know some of Wordsworth's poems. And one of his favourite haunts has been the Lake region, over which he has cycled and where he passed several summer vacations while he was President of Princeton University. He has travelled on the Continent, but would probably confess that he knows England best.

Mr. Wilson, like so many men who are concerned much with the deep and even the tragic things of human life, has a keen sense of humour. His stories are innumerable, told with zest ; and his love of nonsense verse has given joy to many a happy circle. There are few who could beat the collection of "limericks "

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which he carries in his ever ready memory.

It is a new figure, a new type of national leader which seems at this hour to stand in that great place where the nations have met together to discuss the conclusion of the great war that has convulsed the world. Out of the wreckage of the dreams of a new world what real world shall arise? President Wilson's mind and will are set upon the idea that henceforth governments should direct their policies, not upon the assumption that international wrong and recurrent wars are inevitable, but upon the assumption that nations may consent to live according to those laws of justice, of generosity, which have come so largely to control the conduct of reasonable men wherever

a reasonable measure of civilized life has been established in our world.

We have before us the picture of a man who combines in an unusual manner the possession of high personal gifts with prolonged preparation for a task the most momentous in the world of to-day. He has been, as we have seen, a lifelong student of modern history, of constitutional law, and methods of government. He has dug deep into the tangled story of modern diplomacy. He has been a teacher of economics and the science of government. He has watched closely all the significant movements in the social life and in the vast industrial developments of his own and other lands. He has brought to bear upon these studies a conscience charged

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with the eternal principles of justice between man and man, of freedom, of human brotherhood. He is quick to apprehend, sensitive to feel the human interest of every problem that has come before him. He has observed closely the older methods of rulership, legislation and popular agitation and has seen far into both the virtues and the defects of each. It is not strange that in his spirit there should be a certain aloofness, a desire for personal meditation over the issues presented to him in that high station to which he has been called. It is an office of peculiar loneliness which he occupies, and yet one which cannot be fulfilled unless it keeps him in constant communication with those who administer affairs of state under his authority

and with that wider public from which he derives his authority, and to which he is ultimately and constantly responsible.

Mr. Wilson seems to those who believe in him to unite the power of consultation with that of independent judgment, the power of adapting himself to change with constant adhesion to fundamental principles, the power to define the good and the noble, and to make for it by whatever path opens before him in the drive of history. He has proved himself in the most trying times which any President of the United States has encountered, excepting only Washington and Lincoln, to possess many of the same elements which entered into their characters and gave them the unique power

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which they exerted over their generations. He has inspired with his ideals, not only the citizens of his own country, but the population of half the earth. He is a leader full of patience and of energy, adaptable in action, consistent in ultimate aim, on whose continued success or failure in the use of these powers unmeasured blessings or unmeasured woes depend for many of the nations of the world.

**HIS POLICY AND WORK AS
PRESIDENT**

IV

HIS POLICY AND WORK AS PRESIDENT

IT was in the summer of 1912 that Governor Wilson of New Jersey was made the nominee of the democratic party for the presidency of the United States of America. The famous democratic convention which nominated him was held at Baltimore and was the scene of prolonged and stormy debate. At last the assembly turned with conviction and enthusiasm from such names as those of William Jennings Bryan, the recognized leader of the democratic party, Mr. Champ Clark, its official

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leader in the House of Representatives, to this new political personage as its candidate at the national election. Mr. Wilson was opposed by two redoubtable figures, that of Theodore Roosevelt, who had founded a new political party known as the Progressive Party, and William H. Taft, who was, at the time, President of the United States. When the election took place on November 4, 1912, Mr. Wilson won the victory, although he had much less than half of the total votes recorded. It is possible that he might have won even if the republican party had not been split in two, since, if Mr. Roosevelt had not been a candidate, many of his supporters would undoubtedly have voted for Mr. Wilson.

On March 4, 1913, the schoolmaster

came to his throne. On that day he delivered what is known as the “inaugural address.” It was marked by brevity, beauty of expression and practical insight into the chief problems at that time occupying the mind of the country. (We give in the Appendix certain passages from this address).

The new President emphasized four subjects which required immediate attention on the part of the Congress, viz :—A revision of the tariff ; a reformation of the banking and currency system of the country ; a fearless dealing with the industrial system which, at that time, hampered both capital and labour ; a development of the agricultural activities under Government direction and inspiration ; and lastly a wide and

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thorough survey of the vast, undeveloped material resources of the whole land.

Very speedily Mr. Wilson showed that this programme was not a mere far-off ideal, but one which he was determined to put immediately into operation. The country was amazed at the energy and fearlessness with which he handled the situation in Congress. Measures dealing with all of these items in his programme were introduced in rapid succession. No dilatoriness was allowed by the President. He kept Congress at work, he maintained constant intercourse with the responsible committees, he carried on what we may call the method of open diplomacy, he insisted that the whole country should know all the time what proposals he

had made, the reasons for those proposals and what the legislators were doing with reference to them, the manner in which the legislators were carrying their responsibility. Thus the President proved himself no dreamy idealist, no mere doctrinaire. For him ideals were convictions, were elements of a programme. The programme meant that something must be done. He proved that there was in him that power to drive men as well as to inspire them which is necessary to a successful administration of all affairs.

The new President was speedily brought face to face with one of the most anxious international problems with which his country has had to deal. The neighbouring republic of Mexico had for some time fallen

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into utter disorder. The revolution had displaced President Diaz, who, for many years, had ruled his country with the outward appearance of legality and had preserved the outward appearance of order. His departure made all men aware of the extent to which his prolonged reign had been unconstitutional in its spirit and short-sighted in its method. The masses of the people were uneducated, ground down in poverty, unable to rule themselves or to find true guides for their unhappy spirits.

For some years it had been evident that the disorder in Mexico could not be easily suppressed and a stable constitutional government established. In the beginning of 1913 a General Huerta had usurped the presidency, secured the murder of the

actual President, Madero, and the whole country was thrown into disorder. Rebel leaders, some of them with powerful forces behind them, sprang up in different parts of the country. Order everywhere was destroyed, with the result that the property and lives of foreigners were put in danger. American citizens, as well as those of the leading European powers, protested to their respective Governments, and it seemed as if active intervention were necessary. But the United States Government has always been jealous of any interference of European powers with the internal affairs of north and south American republics and has, therefore, felt itself pledged by that very jealousy to assume some measure of responsibility for such a situation as

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had now arisen in Mexico. There was a loud outcry made by certain parties in the United States that the Government should at once send military forces into Mexico to safeguard the interests of Americans and other foreign citizens in that country and help to restore order.

Again Mr. Wilson set his will with unbending determination. His Mexican policy should be studied very closely by all who would understand his spirit and method when he came to deal with the European situation. He accepted the moral responsibility of his Government in respect to Mexican conditions up to a certain point, but he determined that his policy should be based upon definite fundamental moral principles. First he held that it was the Mexican people

themselves who must work out their own destiny without the forceful intervention of any other power. Secondly, it was the right and duty of the American Government, as an elder brother, to advise the Mexican people, to show them deep sympathy and offer practical aid in their distress. Thirdly, it was the duty of the American Government to refuse to recognize the authority of any one who gained the position of power in Mexico and called himself "President," as Huerta had done, by treachery, murder and the unconstitutional exertion of force. In the fourth place, the American Government must make it clear that there was a limit beyond which its patience could not go. On the one hand President Wilson said: "We can

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afford to exercise the self-restraint of a really great nation which realizes its own strength and scorns to misuse it." "I am proud to belong to a strong nation that says 'This country which we could crush shall have just as much freedom in her own affairs as we have.' If I am strong, I am ashamed to bully the weak. In proportion to my strength is my pride in withholding that strength from the oppression of another people."

This is the underlying moral conviction which found expression at an unhappy moment in the famous utterance "Too proud to fight." It is a sound and noble conviction when wisely balanced by a determination to fight, and fight hard, if an ignoble and persistent hostility makes the

policy of patience itself ignoble and vain.

President Wilson, at a later date, confessed that he may have made mistakes in the course of his dealings with Mexico. And it is easy, as we look back, to say that some things could have been better done than as they are written into the record of his dealings with that unhappy country. Whether he should have sent the fleet to Vera Cruz and brought it away again, or sent the American army to the Mexican border and brought it back again may remain matters of debate. There is no doubt that each display of force has had some healthful effect in Mexico. But it is not yet impossible that Mr. Wilson's general method of dealing with the situation may secure

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for him one of the greatest triumphs in the history of international relations.

By his recognition of Carranza as at first the *de facto* leader of his country; by his continuous efforts to establish complete understanding between those holding Mexican authority and the American Government; by his cordial expression of confidence in the Mexican people and a deep desire for their enjoyment of liberty, order and self-government; by his fierce denunciation of those in his own country who, often for wicked and selfish reasons, have been trying to drive him into a Mexican war; by his repeated warnings to Mexican leaders that there must be a limit to all human patience and that conditions might arise which would compel the United States to

use force against Mexican disorders, he has been working out a problem of a most complex kind. It is new in history. It seeks to combine the power of moral influence and appeal with ultimate reliance upon physical force. It combines the effort to maintain friendship with warnings that friendship cannot live in the presence of persistent enmity. But it steadily refuses to exert its superior force until the humane and generous plan has been exhaustively put to trial.

If the policy fails, it will yet mark an important stage in the history of diplomacy and of international relations. If it succeeds, it will help not only to redeem Mexico, but to establish order in many other sections of the Latin-American world. It will help to establish the claim

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so often made by President Wilson that the Republic of the United States was established both to offer an example of democratic freedom, combined with order and efficient government, and to encourage all efforts to establish a like freedom in every part of the world.

The supreme war of all history has inevitably become the supreme test of statesmanship throughout the world. Alike those who were immediately involved in the struggle and those who remained for a time outside it, had the true quality of their spirit and their power revealed. It must be left to the close scrutiny of a later day to determine the measure of success with which the various governments of the world faced an unparalleled task. Hence no

more can be done in these pages concerning President Wilson and his leadership of American policy, than to describe the situation and to state briefly what seem to have been the main features of his policy.

The obvious surface facts are as follows: America kept out of the war for nearly three years. During that period the will of Germany became clearer every passing month. Her determination to dominate all the nations of the world was unmistakably made known. The horror of her methods of warfare in Belgium, France, Serbia and Poland confronted the conscience of mankind. Every healthy-minded man in every land was filled with revulsion and moral indignation. Germany included in her plan of warfare, not

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merely the actual fighting in Europe but the invasion of every other country by a more insidious system of propaganda than the world had ever dreamed of. She broke all rules of decency by turning her Embassies in neutral lands into instruments of attack upon the people and Governments of those lands.

On the other hand, Great Britain and France, and at a later date Italy, were driven to new methods of sea warfare, which raised acute problems for all neutral nations, of whom America was naturally regarded as the chief spokesman. This led Mr. Wilson to the sending of a long series of exhaustive notes to Great Britain, criticizing and even objecting to the form of blockade which she sought to establish against

the German ports. Certain elements in the blockade system were undoubtedly new. Mr. Wilson believed that they were in contravention of established international law. Especially was objection made to the practice of taking ships away from their natural course to British and French harbours, there to conduct a search for contraband. Further, there was an extraordinary extension of the list of articles classed as contraband, and these were made even to include food stuffs nominally destined for neutral ports, but which were quite plainly intended for the sustenance of the German people. This interference with trade relations, not only between neutral countries and Germany, but among neutral nations themselves, was an entirely new appli-

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cation of the ancient system of blockade. The fact is that this long controversy, while it undoubtedly created anxiety on both sides of the Atlantic, did not lead, or seriously threaten, to an open rupture between America and Great Britain. Mr. Wilson seems to have believed it his duty thus to exhaust the resources of legal argument upon a situation which was both new and perplexing. Perhaps it was impossible for any neutral government to allow the matter to proceed without investigation, as such neglect would have been a tacit abandonment of neutrality in relation to Germany.

Mr. Wilson's notes when he addressed Germany took another direction and, from the beginning, in spite of himself and his efforts to be

impartial revealed a subtle difference of tone from those addressed to Great Britain. Here he was confronted with the adoption of submarine warfare against merchant vessels. It became speedily clear that a submarine could not carry on the system of seizure and search as heretofore practised. When it sank a vessel carrying contraband, it could not safeguard passengers and crew according to the established rules of international law. Germany therefore claimed the right to sink such vessels as she found or suspected of carrying contraband, even though she was unable to safeguard the lives of the unarmed people on board. Against this practice Mr. Wilson immediately entered a most vigorous protest whose full effect and difference of tone pro-

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duced a deep sense of injury in Germany.

When the *Lusitania* was sunk, on May 7, 1915, Germany committed one of her many inexplicable and irretrievable moral blunders. America was appalled by the atrocity. Many of her citizens were ready for an immediate declaration of war, and many have never forgiven Mr. Wilson for failing to call upon Congress to take that step at that time. It is probable that such a declaration could have been carried. Mr. Wilson has never given any reasons for his avoidance of what seemed to so many of his fellow citizens the obvious duty of the hour. Those who believed in him held and hold that some day his reasons will be suitably revealed. Secondly, they hold that

even although he had carried such an act through Congress, it would have been with a disunited people that he would have gone into the war. There is no doubt that, even after that event, large sections of the Republic were determined to keep their country out of the struggle. It is not unlikely that grave reasons for his refusal to declare war may be found in the grip which those who were working for the German Empire still possessed upon the interior life of the country. At many German gathering places the tragic event was celebrated with joy.

Mr. Wilson, who had before the sinking of the *Lusitania* announced that he would hold Germany to "strict accountability" for injury done by submarine warfare to the

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interests of the United States and the lives of her citizens, refused to carry out that threat in the hour of supreme passion which seized so large a proportion of his country in presence of the great crime. He issued another protest of great vigour and followed that at a later date with further notes to Germany on the whole subject. It was not until after his special message to Congress on the sinking of the *Sussex* in the beginning of April, 1916, that he seemed to attain the purpose which all along he had so patiently cherished, namely, that of persuading Germany to modify her submarine war against merchant ships. In this address he announced that, "Unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and

effect the abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels " it would be necessary "to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether." He still expressed the "keenest regret " at being compelled to announce this decision. Germany immediately pledged herself to abandon this mode of warfare, and she observed that pledge from May 4, 1916, until January 31, 1917.

Before the latter date Mr. Wilson had taken another more decisive step. On December 18 he issued his famous note calling upon all the belligerents to state their objects in the war. This followed the energetic effort which Germany made to secure peace negotiations with her enemies on the basis of the military map as

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it lay before the world. Mr. Wilson felt that this was the hour for issuing a very definite challenge to all the people who were at war. He did not propose, he said, that they should make peace, nor did he offer mediation, but he merely asked both sides in the great struggle to announce to the world more clearly than they had yet done the objects which they severally had in view. The central words of this great note, which awoke resentment in Great Britain and France and most bitter "criticism" among those opposed to his policy in his own land, were as follows: "The concrete objects for which it (the war) is being waged have never been definitely stated. The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects

in general terms. But stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the peace objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success even, would bring the war to an end."

It must be observed that Mr. Wilson does not say that the objects on both sides were the same. He carefully and accurately says that "*they seem the same on both sides.*" This was an accurate statement for the special reason that, in their attempt

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to secure a peace negotiation, the German Government had propounded noble humanitarian objects as the inspiration of their cause. They tried as closely as possible to declare their purposes in terms which would seem to be like those which had been so often uttered by the spokesmen of France and Great Britain, and which they thought would recommend their cause to Mr. Wilson and the American people. It was manifestly an urgent necessity that the skies should be cleared, and Mr. Wilson cleared the skies when he issued this challenge. It would be a complete underestimate of his intelligence to say that he did not know what the respective answers would be. They came as he undoubtedly expected them. The German reply was con-

fused, vague, arrogant. The reply issued from London in the name of the Entente was masterly in its dignity, in its definite statement of the grounds on which Great Britain and France had entered into the war, the reasons for which they could not consider peace on any conditions which Germany would, at that time, either propose or consider.

It is not too much to say that this note was one of Mr. Wilson's supreme triumphs in diplomacy. It opened a wide gulf between the spirit of Germany and that of the Entente. Before America, before the whole world the issue was made clearer than ever, and that by the supreme authorities on each side in answer to the challenge of the chief neutral Government. To many minds in America

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it became very clear after the reply of the Entente was published that America would very soon be compelled to enter into the war. Mr. Wilson's education of his people was now approaching its climax.

That climax drew nearer when the German Government announced its policy of unrestricted submarine warfare which began on February 1, 1917. As soon as this fatal form of strategy was adopted by Germany, President Wilson went before Congress, on February 3, and announced that he had severed diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government. He still professed his inability to believe that the Germans would carry their threat into action. "Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now."

In order to meet the new situation in respect of naval warfare, the President then asked authority from the Congress to arm merchant ships. This was not a declaration of war, it was taken by him simply as a mode of defence against illegal and monstrous attacks which were threatened against American shipping by the maddened and despairing leaders of the German Empire. In strange, pathetic protest against the resolution thus forced upon him, he said to Congress: "I hope that I need give no other conditions and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience, for I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. . . . War can come only by the wilful

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acts and aggression of others." So strong a will as this, nations have rarely seen in the leaders of their fortunes.

It must be remembered in this connexion that when Woodrow Wilson was in November, 1916, re-elected as President, one of the strong pleas made by his party for his re-election was that he had kept the nation out of war; and that, not only in spite of the insults of Germany and all the wrongs done to American interests and American lives, but also in spite of the persistent and indignant determination with which a large part of the American people strove to force him into a declaration of war. It must not be supposed that Mr. Wilson found it easy to maintain this policy. He

refers in later speeches to that suffering which he and others had gone through in their efforts to maintain friendly relations with Germany, in "bitter months." Nor must it be supposed that he was at any time blind to the vileness of the German policy and the German methods of warfare. He has not yet declared all the reasons which held him back from that step which was now imminent. When the internal history of America during this period is written, disclosures may possibly be made of a startling kind. But even those who know little are aware that Mr. Wilson, in spite of his efforts, was confronted by a people with a divided mind and will.

Let us briefly summarize the situation. From one side of the country

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to another the population of its cities and farm regions teemed with people of German and Austrian extraction. Hundreds of thousands of these, who were actually subjects of those two Empires, were trained soldiers, passionately devoted and loyal to their home lands, and among these were many military officers. These constituted a body of life with which it would have been dangerous to trifle. Their sinister activities in conspiracy became manifest in many ways which revealed their power; yes, and their pride. There is no doubt that the Administration, during these three years, had been actively engaged in the gradual obtaining of a firm control over this situation.

In the next place, we must remember that there are millions of

people of Hebrew extraction and many Prussian immigrants, all of whom hated the Russian autocracy with a bitter and intense hatred. These people would have resisted every attempt to bring America into even the appearance of co-operation with a Government whose name they associated only with oppression and cruelty. They saw no reason for supporting Czarism in Russia in order to suppress Kaiserism in Germany. Account must again be taken of the vast territories in the middle west and far west of America, thinly populated, little aware of the life of the world, to whom European affairs were still very remote and who felt no burden on their conscience in respect to any share that America might take in a European struggle

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for justice and honour. For them it was still only an European struggle in the most limited sense of the term, and they resisted with great energy every argument, even after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, that America was called upon to have a share in that far-off although momentous conflict.

It is perhaps unfair to lay undue emphasis upon another consideration, and yet it must be named, because it did influence a certain class of citizens in the United States. The war had brought immense material prosperity to that country. Money was pouring in as it had never poured before into any other land for the purchase of vast quantities of munitions and food, and many other supplies which distracted Europe required in her

great day of need. Some would include in this statement a reference to the immense and ever growing bank connexions between Germany and the United States. It would be quite wrong to say that this class of people exercised an avowed or predominant influence. It was, nevertheless, felt, and undoubtedly had its own part in producing that condition of inertia, from which only the next events in Germany's programme of action and in the world's history were able to arouse the entire American nation.

When the famous German message to Mexico, known as the Zimmerman Note, was published throughout America, the entire people arose with indignation. In that note the German Foreign Office through the Em-

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bassy at Washington strove to enlist Mexico, and even Japan, in an attack on the United States. It was suggested that in the event of victory, towards which Germany would support them in vigorous ways, a considerable portion of the territory of the United States would be handed over to Mexico. That the plan was childish in the extreme did not hide the fact that it was both an insult and a menace of the most serious kind. It only wanted one more event to cap the climax, and that came with the Russian Revolution. The overthrow of that autocracy swept away the last remaining reason which was cherished by many American men against participation in the war.

Very rapidly events proceeded to the inevitable issue, and on April 2,

1917, President Wilson went before Congress with a definite proposal that the United States should declare war against Germany. This is the famous address in which Mr. Wilson gives the reasons for the momentous step which he proposed and defines the spirit and the objects which America must cherish as she entered the war. He now spoke with unmitigated determination of the whole policies and spirit of the Imperial German Government. He recognized now that Germany had entered into a war against all nations. He had found that armed neutrality was ineffectual, that the German Government was driven from one desperate venture to another in her effort at the cost of all honour to secure victory over her enemies.

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Mr. Wilson took an important stand when he distinguished between the German Government and the German people. Towards the latter he said: "We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval."

If in this estimate of the situation Mr. Wilson was too optimistic, it yet enabled him to deliver a message which has produced a profound effect, both in Germany and Austria—for concerning the latter at a later date he made the same statement. America was fighting not against peoples, but against a form of government, not against nations who, if

they had been democratic in spirit would never have entered on a war for world domination, but against a system of government which held them in an unreasonable and impotent subjection. It was the fall of the Russian autocracy which gave Mr. Wilson, when America declared war, the opportunity to describe it as a war for democracy against autocracy, as a war for the liberation of down-trodden peoples from hereditary tyrannies which had robbed them of their rights and plunged them into this distress and this disgrace.

“ We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend ; and that in the presence

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of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be

planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.”

This famous paragraph in his address is likely to live long as one of the greatest utterances in the history of the world’s fight for freedom and humanity.

It was one of the greatest results of President Wilson’s long and patient education of his people that, when the hour for the great decision struck,

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he received the practically unanimous support of the Congress and found himself enthusiastically assisted by a unanimous people. When the great democracy rose, it rose as one man to fight against Germany. The whole country was swept with the spirit of enthusiasm for the great cause which its President had at last interpreted and which their conscience had at last fully adopted. The people allowed nothing to stand in the way of the most complete organisation of their life for the one purpose of the war, and conscription was adopted immediately. Vast powers were placed in the hands of the President. Enormous loans were raised. Measures were taken to throw the whole industrial resources of the country into war work. The

people obeyed the suggestions of Mr. Hoover, the Food Controller, as if they were laws administered in a strict manner by police supervision. Freely the vast majority of the people rationed themselves in order that those whom they now proudly spoke of as their Allies or Associates in war might be fed.

Much attention was given to all efforts for maintaining a high moral character among the armies of America and, to this end, no less than two hundred and fifty million dollars (£50,000,000) have been freely contributed to the work of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., the Roman Catholic agency known as the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army and many other religious and philanthropic institutions. Moreover, the nation became

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intolerant of all open avowals of pacifism. They interpreted them as in effect Pro-Germanism. In every direction one had the evidence that this people so slow to unite, so difficult to arouse, when once awake had cast themselves with complete devotion of soul into the vast undertaking. Over the entire processes, President Wilson was recognized as the leader. There was the usual amount of muddling and scolding which we expect and which we are apt to believe is peculiar to democracies when they throw themselves into unwonted operations of warfare. Mr. Wilson was blamed for refusing to create a Coalition Cabinet. He retained every member of his Cabinet in spite of the most vigorous and severe criticism which was launched against certain members of

that body. But in the creation of many new and great departments of Administration, Mr. Wilson proved himself a non-party man. He found that the leading business men of the country, of every shape of political opinion, were willing to give up their private interests and take office under his administration. He called upon practically no one of the leaders of the business world who did not accept instantly enormous responsibilities, and enter upon vast undertakings; and, in doing so, many of them made very great personal sacrifices.

There is no need to attempt the story of Mr. Wilson's administration between the declaration of war and this hour. He would be the last man to say that everything had been done perfectly by him, or those that

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work with him. Suffice it to say that at the close of the war, his Government had already landed in Europe over two millions of trained soldiers and that there were said to be nearly two millions more in actual training in the military camps throughout the United States. Every week was increasing the output of war material from American factories ; the building of submarine chasers was proceeding apace ; the building of aeroplanes was destined very soon to reach a very high mark.

The actual result of America's participation in the war is felt by all to have been important, even although her share of fighting was limited in time and she did not employ more than a fraction of her total effective forces. It would be wrong to say

that she had saved Great Britain and France from defeat. The world believes that the spirit of these great nations was unconquerable. But there is little doubt that partly by what her armies actually did, and still more by what they revealed of incalculable power for the future, America helped to crush the spirit of Germany and therefore hastened, perhaps by many months, perhaps by years, the victory of the Allies.

President Wilson, in his station of lonely and supreme power, was concerned not merely with the vast internal organization necessary for raising, equipping and training her great armies, but conveying them to Europe and there maintaining them with all the supplies of war. He was also compelled to give much time

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and thought to the ever-changing problems which were caused by the elaborate "Peace Offensives" continually carried on by the Central Powers. Their aim from the beginning was to drive the wedge between America and the Allies. German leaders seemed obsessed with the idea, and it was encouraged, alas, by some of his more virulent critics in his own land, that President Wilson might be persuaded to play false to the aims of the Allies, to enter upon negotiations for peace which would embarrass alike their conduct of the war and the ultimate settlement of Europe and the world.

The President showed that he was aware of this effort and its meaning. With characteristic reserve he made no public allusion to it, but the

persistent attempts to deflect his method of procedure failed, as his friends knew it would fail. He went on with his diplomatic work on lines which often puzzled his domestic and foreign opponents, but which gradually justified themselves by their results. It was in the course of these discussions that he issued his famous note embodying the fourteen conditions of peace. (See Appendix.) No one can doubt the enormous influence which "The Programme of the World's Peace," as he called it, has produced upon the history of opinion and the actual course of events. Again a certain vagueness was interpreted either as weakness or as indicating proposals which his critics condemned in advance as impossible, but the fact is that his

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programme takes a certain indefiniteness of form by deliberate intention. It does not lay down an order in which its successive points must be determined. It does not give us, nor intend to give, a final definition of any one of the conditions embodied in it. It was intended to be a statement of principles near enough to the concrete in their form to become the actual guide for any conference which should adopt them as starting points in the solution of practical problems. Much play has been made with his emphasis upon what is called "The Freedom of the Seas." The paragraph on that subject was merely the statement of a principle which it will require much discussion to define clearly and to apply to the actual world situation. That the President had formed an

exact theory in his own mind and that he intended to stick to that theory through thick and thin, is entirely to misunderstand the working of his mind and the method in which he deals with practical problems.

A similar statement may be made with regard to his reference to the freedom which must be guaranteed to the peoples hitherto in subjection to the Austrian Empire. Here again the principle of action was laid down in terms which allow of gradual definition as a positive situation unfolds itself. The same remark applies to the other paragraphs dealing with the Turkish Empire. In respect of Austria, it might be said with the utmost confidence that Mr. Wilson's decision came as a wind of hope to the races and nations con-

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cerned. His words immediately captured the hearts of many peoples embodied in the extraordinary unity of the Austrian Empire. This was happily one of those strokes of diplomacy which produce greater and better results than whole armies can. Some day it may become clear that these paragraphs smashed Austria. Subsequent attempts were made by the Kaiser's Ministers to extract from President Wilson something more definite, or to secure by subtle suggestion a departure from the firm and bold outline of the programme of peace which he had thus promulgated. It was all in vain. With stroke after stroke he made the decision of America and her Allies clearer and clearer, and helped to raise before the eyes of all nations the vision of a new world

wherein nations dwell in covenants with one another, whose fulfilment is made secure and whose power will maintain a world-wide peace.

The next great step in Mr. Wilson's diplomatic work came when Germany asked him to act as mediator and secure terms of armistice from the Allies. Mr. Wilson replied with his famous three questions, the third of which invited information as to whether the appeal for his mediation was made by the constituted Government which had begun and conducted the war. According to the ancient rules of diplomacy, this was a very rude question, but it was true to Mr. Wilson's method. It was addressed, not merely to the Kaiser's Chancellor, but to the German people. It was a challenge once more which

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they must, as they trembled on the brink of the precipice, make up their minds to answer. The answer was feeble enough and was met again with a blunt and outspoken announcement that no terms could be made with a Government which was not responsible to the people and did not carry with its decisions and acts the deliberate approval of the entire nation. No longer would the world deal with irresponsible autocrats, or even with the shadowy remainder of their broken power. Since Germany was on the verge of collapse, her armies being driven towards the irretrievable disaster and her inward system of Government undermined by a seething mass of distrust, fear, weariness and resentment, Mr. Wilson's method seems again to have

been chosen with the utmost skill. When at last reply came in the form of an abject request for an armistice, Mr. Wilson, who had been true to his relations with the Allies all through these negotiations, then took the next and obvious step of placing the whole matter in the hands of the Governments with whom he was associated; and they, not unprepared during these brief weeks of consideration, placed the power of granting an armistice in the hands of Marshal Foch. The result is before the world to-day.

The German Empire has passed through an experience of humiliation such as no proud nation ever consented to undergo. She claims that her armies were still undefeated, that her Fleet was lying intact, and yet she has withdrawn her armies, sur-

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rendered vast territory into the hands of her enemies and given up her proud Fleet. This is aside from our main subject, and yet it may here be stated as an evident fact that no people who had it in their spirit to accept defeat in this way and on these terms was fitted to win the first place in the world. That first place is reserved only for those who would rather die than do as Germany has done.

**THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES
OF HIS POLICY**

V

THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF HIS POLICY

IT remains to give as briefly as possible the main principles on which Mr. Wilson has founded his policy, a mere outline, perhaps, of his work as a leader of the world's thought on the vast problems which confront the statesmen of all nations, in these days of decision which must create a new epoch in universal history.

We shall not begin our statement aright unless we make it quite clear that Mr. Wilson believes profoundly in the Christian religion. For him,

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as we have said above, the laws of righteousness and mercy are derived from the will of God as that has expressed itself in human nature and as it manifestly has become known in the course of history.

Before he became President of the United States, he spoke from time to time on religious subjects, always with great earnestness, always with clear insight into the permanent issues where the Christian religion is concerned. In his first inaugural address he, as it were, instinctively revealed his spirit and that view of the world from which his mind never departs, when he said: "The feelings with which we face this new age of right and principle sweep across our heart-strings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy

are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action. This is not a day of triumph ; it is a day of dedication. . . . I summon all earnest men, all patriots, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me I will not fail them if they will but counsel and sustain me ! ”

The understanding man will recognize that these statements are shot through not merely with the echoes of Biblical language, but with the

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deep principles of fundamental Christian doctrine.

Further illustration of this matter from President Wilson's writings and speeches might be cited in abundance. Reference to his official Proclamations regarding the Annual Thanksgiving Day will repay the thoughtful man. Referring to the war, he said in solemn tones: "The eyes of the people have been opened and they see. The hand of God is upon the nations. He will show them favour, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy." Again in reply to a deputation of ministers in London he said that "he highly appreciated the comradeship of spirit indicated by a gathering like that before him. He recognized that the sanction of

religion was necessary to the realization of the ideal which he and they held in common. So complex were the issues that any man who relied on his own mind only in the matter was liable to go crazy at the contemplation of the task before him. It would be impossible to bring that ideal to fruition if they did not believe in and rely upon the assistance of Divine Providence. It would be like going into a maze without a clue."

When he came into power, Mr. Wilson was suspected of being an idealist of the weaker sort. The suspicion arose from the fact that he had been a "schoolmaster." It was encouraged by the fact that his early addresses in his political life were concerned very largely with those

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principles of political action, those purposes of reform, those conceptions of the service of humanity which shallow people and selfish people describe as mere ideals. Thus they run to cover from conscience and from the solemn tasks of progressive legislation. It must be admitted, of course, that there have been many idealists who were impracticable. There are those whose ideals consist in merely selfish refined aspirations flung up towards the sky, which speedily fall to earth again useless and destined to crumble into dust. There are those whose ideals are born of the will of God, but who interpret them narrowly, without any grasp of the greatness, the complexity of human nature and the fullness of the processes of history. They

passionately inquire why this and that pious proposal, or righteous reformation, is not immediately carried into effect at all costs to all other interests. Of this class of idealist the various sectarians are born who have invested the life of the Church and the history of political reform with their ineffective zeal and their unreasoning bigotry.

Mr. Wilson belongs to another class of idealists, those who at once grasp the true principles of human relationship, the underlying moral forces of human life, and seek to apply them thoroughly, energetically to the actual great world before them, and the endless series of emergencies which are its history. The application is not made without regard to the living facts of human nature, the concrete

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circumstances of human society. Mr. Wilson knows, for example, that things are possible to-day which it would have been madness to propose fifty years ago, that a programme of political action will be possible the day after to-morrow which was an idle dream of yesterday.

There are two main fields with which his mind has been chiefly concerned as a statesman. The first is that of legislation and administration in reference to American industry and commerce. The second is that of diplomacy over the vast ocean of international politics.

As to the first of these subjects, his position is based upon a deep and pitying sympathy for the masses of working people for whom life presents little that is attractive, who toil and

spin and rest not, who agitate and organize and seek justice and find it not. He has closely considered the situation of the working man, the meaning and possibilities of the various forms of association which he has created for the interpretation of his needs and the securing of a "square deal" from the government of his country. Hence he is able to say with a full heart: "I am for the labouring man, justice must be done him, or there can be no justice in this country. We must all be partners in the game of government." He is aware of the great difficulties of the situation. "There is something very new and very big and very complex about these new relations of capital and labour. A new economic society has sprung up and we must

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effect a new set of adjustments.”

Early in his Presidential life he was full of suspicion towards the policy and power of the great Trusts, and he pursued a method of attack upon some of these Trusts which had been so vigorously inaugurated by his predecessors, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft. He has rapidly come to see that such a policy can be carried too far, and that no effort to deliver labour from injustice can be wise which destroys the power of, and denies a large freedom of action to, the possessors of capital. It is rather a system of increasing co-operation, of clearer mutual understanding, that he seeks to establish between these two great poles of the modern industrial sphere.

In the second field of action, Mr.

Wilson has again based his policy upon fundamental moral principles, upon the earnest and even passionate desire for the welfare of humanity. Himself a great lover of peace and concord, he hoped that he might make a great contribution to those movements which had been so powerfully directed by his two predecessors in office for securing permanent peace in the world. These movements were encouraged by Mr. Roosevelt, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for his brilliant service of the great cause. Mr. Roosevelt, at one time, even argued for a limitation of the American Navy in the hope that it might be an example to other nations in the limitation of their armaments ; and he had set his mark on history by his intervention in the Russo-Japanese war.

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Mr. Taft, the immediate predecessor of Mr. Wilson, pursued the policy of making arbitration treaties between America and other countries. He has become President of the League to Enforce Peace. He is a most able, wise and eloquent advocate of that great cause. Mr. Wilson felt himself to be in true succession to a noble tradition when he set himself with great determination to his Mexican policy. And still more he sought, at great cost to his own feelings and his political reputation, to prevent his country from being dragged at the heels of the Kaiser into a devastating European war. His long nourished ideals succoured him in this costly resolution.

It is the historical fact that Mr. Wilson's efforts to establish a League

of Nations are not born of his own invention and are not mere gleams of his own abstract ideas. They are made in consistency with what had become the recognized spirit and policy of the American Government. But there is a new situation in the world which his predecessors did not confront, with which he has to deal to-day. The nations of the world have not gathered in a cool atmosphere round a conference table to create out of nothing, as it were, a something entirely new, which is to be called "The League of Nations," or the "Parliament of Man." The nations have been cruelly compelled into conference by the titanic force of the great war. Problems which seemed remote five years ago are hammering on the heart and mind of

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every statesman in the world. Situations which it seemed as if a hundred years would not create have sprung into form before the astonished eyes of every ruler and every parliament on the face of the earth.

It is not a mere idealist, a prophet, a Victorian poet who can speak to-day of freedom and justice for all men, of the open unity of mankind, of the great Congress where all the races of humanity are met together. The thing is here, the nations are in conference, the problems must be solved. Armies and fleets and parliaments and peoples must be related anew to each other. There is no escape either for the Prime Ministers of Europe or Japan or the President of the United States. In this hour those principles of justice and mercy, of honesty, of

plain dealing between one country and another, between one race and another which, five years ago, might well have been described as beautiful phrases of charmed enthusiasts, are to-day of the very stuff of the day's duty for these men who lead humanity. And President Wilson is one of the potent leaders in this task because he has the capacity for holding moral ideals before his mind as radiant but definite, concrete goals, towards which the governments of the world must move, or enter a darker night.

Mr. Wilson's grasp upon the moral principles which underlie all human relations has been aided by his great power of lucid and eloquent exposition. He has become the acknowledged spokesman of all whom he

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himself would call "the forward-looking peoples of the world." It is everywhere admitted, even by Germany, that he has interpreted, as no one else has done, the purpose of the Allies, the inner meaning of the great struggle. He has, with a firm hand, described the outlines of that new world which must arise out of the ashes of the old.

There is one prejudice against Mr. Wilson in the minds of some of his fellow citizens which may be glanced at for a moment, once more. It arises from the idea that he is a man who in lonely brooding forms a hard and fast theory and then seeks to force it down the gorge of an unwilling people. Firmness in pursuing this purpose has been described as a tyrannous insistence upon his private

and purely personal theory. This is probably a misinterpretation of the real man. Certainly it is one which he would, for himself, utterly disown. He has more than once insisted that there is nothing he desires more than to discover the will of his people. He longs on all great subjects to "match his mind" with the minds of others on the subjects with which they are together concerned, as women seek to match colours. Moreover, he has more than once been accused of the very opposite quality, of being too plastic, of yielding a decision which he had seemed to have taken up very strongly and promised to hold inflexibly. Illustrations of both modes of conduct can be easily gathered from his dealings both with internal and foreign problems during

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the period of his Presidency. His friends maintain that these facts reveal the practical politician as well as the earnest idealist in one man. He will not sacrifice what is essential, what is the moral right in those proposals which he makes; but he will adapt his proposals to the measure of the occasion and secure as much as he can of that purpose on which he has set his mind.

The great instrument on which Mr. Wilson realizes that success in carrying out his policies depends, is that of continuous appeal to public opinion. For him democratic government means the fulfilment of the highest thought and the purest desires of a whole nation. It is no section of the nation, however powerful or clamorous, in a fully realized demo-

cratic government, which is actively to control the rest. In one speech he made before the business men's Congress at Detroit, in 1916, he stated: "I would rather hear what the men are talking about on the trains and in the shops and by the fireside than hear anything else, because I want guidance and I know I can get it there." And, again, even before his first election as President he had said: "What we are really after in the field of politics is to drive everything into the field of facts—drive everything into the open. The root of all evil in politics is privacy and concealment." And, again, in the same year, 1911, he said: "I cannot imagine any portion of the business (of government) with regard to which you can say to your part-

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ners, 'It is none of your business.' ”

He once said that if he had any hobby it was the hobby of publicity. He spoke of publicity as a sunlight which causes evil political practices to wither away. He has used this weapon with a tremendous effect in all his dealings with home affairs. The world must realize that this is Mr. Wilson's chief weapon as he deals with the great international problems which are before the whole world to-day.

He once said, in an address in New York in 1916: “I think the sentence in American history that I myself am proudest of is that in the introductory sentences of the Declaration of Independence where the writers say that a due respect for the opinion of mankind

demands that they state their reasons for what they are about to do. I venture to say that decent respect for the opinion of mankind demanded that those who started the present European war should have stated their reasons, but they did not pay any heed to the opinion of mankind, and the reckoning will come when the settlement comes. So, gentlemen, I am willing, no matter what my personal fortunes may be, to play for the verdict of mankind."

Mr. Wilson has expressed the opinion that if Germany had been allowed by her rulers to discuss for two weeks the proposal to make war, it probably would not have been made, that if an open discussion of the proposal had been conducted for a year, the war would certainly never

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have occurred. It has been argued against this opinion that Germany had for a long time discussed the war and that it was made with the consent of the whole people. But this argument misses the whole point of Mr. Wilson's statement. He would deny that the German people had ever really enjoyed such an opportunity as he describes. Their discussion was based entirely upon partial information, doled out by their tyrants. They responded to that information and the deductions made from it with a fatal docility. But such a discussion of the facts as Mr. Wilson refers to would have given the people all the facts of the case. Their purpose as a nation would have been nourished upon the knowledge of deeper things, wider things,

greater things than those which the Imperial Government allowed them to know, and stimulated them to consider as the whole relevant truth. The publicity, as he calls it, for which he contends is one which itself should be freed from the selective policies of any government in any part of the world.

This is the secret of Mr. Wilson's desire and passionate plea for an open diplomacy, for the abolition of all secret treaties, for the gradual formation of all international relationship and agreement by means of the widest public discussion of the facts. He is not so foolish as to imagine that there must be no private understandings of a preliminary sort between leaders of the peoples. He knows that, as in private business, so in

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the affairs of nations, delicate steps must be taken, mutual understandings must be established in the process of reaching a sound and honourable agreement. But these private conferences must in no case result in the springing upon any nation of proposals whose value and effect they have had no real opportunity to test. Private conferences are intended, when they are moving towards treaties and international agreements of any kind, to express the considered convictions not of autocratic rulers, but of the representatives of the public opinion and the open policy of whole nations. And upon them all the light of the conscience of mankind must fall.

Mr. Wilson has very fully illustrated his fundamental political methods in his direction of American opinion

and of American policy in relation to the great war. We may repeat that he probably holds no private, hard and fast theory of the details or actual operations of any of the great principles which he has announced, such as the "freedom of the seas," the "self-determination of nations," the "establishment of freer trade relations," the "punishment of Germany," or even the "League of Nations." On all these great matters his mind has laid hold of fundamental moral principles on which procedure must be established. He will support no effort to advance the interests of one people at cost of the rights of any other people. He will oppose every effort to promote imperial aggrandisement in any part of the world. He sees, with marvellous clearness, that

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in this hour of the world's history there is an opportunity which statesmen never before faced of reconstructing international relations throughout the world upon foundations that are themselves grounded in the moral nature of man, the very Will of God Himself.

In conclusion, it has been given to Mr. Wilson to lead the American people into a closer relationship with Great Britain. He has been a life-long student of the history of the British Empire as well as of his own country, a lover of her noblest poets and widely read in the best English literature. He is one who feels in his blood and cherishes in his spirit the inheritance of those great traditions which belong to both the peoples, and which are to-day visibly drawing

them over past misunderstandings into new mutual sympathies. That is why he may be reckoned upon, as indeed his political rivals in America may likewise be reckoned upon, as determined to use all their power to further that unity of the English-speaking world upon which so much of the history of mankind in the future must depend.

“ THE STYLE IS THE MAN ”

VI

THE STYLE IS THE MAN "

SOMETHING ought to be said here about Mr. Wilson's style. For it has qualities which have made it the subject of discussion for many years. Since he became President, and therefore made many enemies, it has been the custom of his foes to say, " Yes, he can talk well, he says very fine things, he makes an idea look well." Such remarks have been made to cover two suggestions of disparagement. In one case it is that his ideas are not original or deep ; that he is like a child who finds some one else's castaway doll. He can

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pick it up, put a seemly cloak and a pretty hat on it, and there you are ! In the other case the suggestion is that his beautiful language stands in stark and horrid contrast with ineffective action. He can talk powerfully about "strict accountability," but the Kaiser will not feel the weight of his fist, and "words do not kill." These criticisms illustrate the old and familiar fact that when you describe a man's style, you cannot help describing the man himself.

It is obvious to-day that Mr. Wilson cannot be accounted for in the superficial manner indicated above. His ideas have not been picked up at random and they are not merely pretty ideas prettily dressed up. And they are no longer mere abstractions without relation to facts. They

have become living forces operating in the substance of human nature and human history as energies of another order work in the realms of the physical world.

No doubt Mr. Wilson's style has been deeply influenced by the men with whom he was concerned in his early years as a student of government and political history, by the authors of the Declaration of Independence, by Edmund Burke and Walter Bagehot, who are all quoted so often in his earliest writings. His expositions are not so closely woven as the compact arguments of Burke, and not so diffuse as were often those of Bagehot. His speeches are sometimes as simple in language and as penetrating in their appeal to heart and conscience as those of Lincoln.

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There are passages which seem infected with a certain vagueness, when he is expounding an ideal or principle of action without illustration from or definite application to a concrete situation. But these must be matched with others when he is dealing with actual problems of legislation. Then he becomes clear, unmistakable in his meaning, virile in his use of the most vivid language, keeping close to an actual situation, and making its real features stand before the reader as in a photograph.

But Mr. Wilson's photographs of reality are always coloured. He cannot write with the restricted precision of the mere blunt scientific setting forth of facts. The facts of human life are never, for him, hard and fast things to be named only in

statistical phraseology. They glow with the meanings which man's nature has put into them. They are compact of the physical and the spiritual, of the earthly and the ethical. Every human situation or problem is for him bathed in the light of an ideal world, which is no less real than the outward and temporal. Hence one finds him at the most unexpected moments using the language which we must call in the truest sense poetical. The constructive not the merely emotional imagination is at work, that which uses the moral and spiritual to interpret the economic and political relations of men. Hence in one passage of his most exquisite address—the one given in September, 1918, at Mount Vernon, when he speaks of the kindly

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air that breathes on the assembly at the old home of George Washington, we are wafted to the hillsides around Rydal Mount ; and when at the close of the same speech we hear him speak of " the very stuff of triumph " we know he means that for him the ideals on which he insists that the world must live, are not " such stuff as dreams are made of." They are the substance of history.

It is a remarkable fact that there is so little difference between Mr. Wilson's written and his spoken style. Even when surprised and unprepared he can " think on his feet," and work his way through a consecutive series of thoughts in sentences that are as complete and smooth and clear as if he had written them in the quiet of his study. The main differences are

that his *extempore* addresses have a certain lightness of touch, an easy style of reference to himself, a tendency to the use of anecdote which are rarely found in his written documents. It is in these also that one finds a love of certain words, with which his mind seems to play caressingly. He likes to speak of "forward-looking" people. He has used the word "handsome" with half a dozen shades of meaning, some of which the dictionary would hardly corroborate. And there are other such favourite toys of his mind.

This does not apply to the great words which are the weapons of his knightly adventure in the modern world. Right and force, justice and mercy, friendship and "covenanted relations," the opinion of mankind

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and open diplomacy—these are the instruments of his warfare. Part of the surprise in his style, the quality which has awakened, attracted and even amazed the world of statesmanship, is due to the fact that for him these terms are not to be kept to the class-room, the pulpit, the sentimental essayist. The statesmen of the world must reckon with them as the very things with which they must deal. Forms of government, national frontiers, problems of labour, powers of capital are not subjects of merely technical interest, to be judged and handled in the name of vested interests of any kind. They are all saturated with moral meanings, and to bring to bear upon them the light of conscience is to lift them to a new and divine system of life. Thus

the human situation will be released from the remaining rules of a merely animal ancestry and the ignoble traditions of merely self-regarding conduct. The forces of a higher order of life, which have long played upon the individual, will then play upon the spirit of whole nations, and rule the world.

This it is which makes his style, with the more elementary qualities of clearness, consecutiveness, compactness and force, a something which we must call distinctive. And this it is which has made his language already dear to the minds of the masses of men. His style answers to the conscience of mankind.

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ILLUSTRATIVE SELECTIONS FROM
THE PUBLISHED SPEECHES AND
ADDRESSES OF PRESIDENT WIL-
SON.

THE SELF-CRITICISM OF A PEOPLE THROUGH ITS PRESIDENT

(First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1913.)

WE have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great, also, very great, in its moral force. We have built up, moreover,

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a great system of government which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it

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all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

Now we have studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are

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matters of justice. There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, the laws determining conditions of labour which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

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And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The nation has been deeply stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with

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which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled, and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics, but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph ; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust ? Who dares fail to try ? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me.

ENLISTMENT FOR PEACE

*(Address at Gettysburg, before veterans of
Civil War, July 4, 1913.)*

May we break camp now and be at ease ? Are the forces that fight for the nation dispersed, disbanded, gone to their homes forgetful of the common cause ? Are our forces disorganized without constituted leaders and the might of men consciously united because we contend, not with armies, but with principalities and powers and wickedness in high places. Are we content to lie still ? Does our union mean sympathy, our peace contentment, our vigour right action, our maturity self-comprehension and a clear confidence in choosing what we shall do ? War fitted us for action, and action never ceases.

I have been chosen the leader of the nation. I cannot justify the choice by any

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qualities of my own, but so it has come about, and here I stand. Whom do I command? The ghostly hosts who fought upon these battlefields long ago and are gone? These gallant gentlemen stricken in years whose fighting days are over, their glory won? What are the orders for them, and who rallies there? I have in my mind another host, whom these set free of civil strife in order that they might work out in days of peace and settled order the life of a great nation. That host is the people themselves, the great and the small, without class or difference of kind or race or origin; the undivided interest, if we have but the vision to guide and direct them and order their lives aright in what we do. Our constitutions are their articles of enlistment. The orders of the day are the laws upon our statute books. What we strive for is their freedom, their right to lift themselves from day to day, and behold the things they have hoped for and so make way for

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still better days for those whom they love who are to come after them. The recruits are the little children crowding in. The quartermaster's stores are in the mines and forests and fields, in the shops and factories. Every day something must be done to push the campaign forward; and it must be done by plan and with an eye to some great destiny.

How shall we hold such thoughts in our hearts and not be moved? I would not have you live even to-day wholly in the past, but would wish to stand with you in the light that streams upon us now out of that great day gone by. Here is the nation God has builded by our hands. What shall we do with it? Who stands ready to act again and always in the spirit of this day of reunion and hope and patriotic fervour? The day of our country's life has but broadened into morning. Do not put uniforms by. Put the harness of the present on. Lift your eyes to the great tracts of life yet to be conquered in

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the interest of righteous peace, of that prosperity which lies in a people's hearts and outlasts all wars and errors of men. Come, let us be comrades and soldiers yet to serve our fellow men in quiet counsel, where the blare of trumpets is neither heard nor heeded and where the things are done which make blessed the nations of the world in peace and righteousness and love.

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IDEAL ATTITUDE OF AMERICA TOWARDS MEXICO IN DISTRESS

(*Special Message to Congress, August 27,*
1913.)

Those conditions touch us very nearly. Not merely because they lie at our very doors. That, of course, makes us more vividly and more constantly conscious of them, and every instinct of neighbourly interest and sympathy is aroused and quickened by them; but that is only one element in the determination of our duty. We are glad to call ourselves the friend of Mexico, and we shall, I hope, have many an occasion, in happier times as well as in these days of trouble and confusion, to show that our friendship is genuine and disinterested, capable of sacrifice and every generous manifestation. The peace, prosperity and contentment of

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Mexico mean much more, much more, to us than merely an enlarged field for our commerce and enterprise. They mean an enlargement of the field of self-government and the realization of the hopes and rights of a nation with whose best aspirations, so long suppressed and disappointed, we deeply sympathize. We shall yet prove to the Mexican people that we know how to serve them without first thinking how we shall serve ourselves.

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Meanwhile, what is it our duty to do? Clearly everything that we do must be rooted in patience and done with calm and disinterested deliberation. Impatience on our part would be childish and would be fraught with every risk of wrong and folly. We can afford to exercise the self-restraint of a really great nation which realizes its own strength and scorns to misuse it. It was our duty to offer our active assistance. It is now our duty to show what true neutrality will do to

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enable the people of Mexico to set their affairs in order again and wait for a further opportunity to offer our friendly counsel. The door is not closed against the resumption, either upon the initiative of Mexico or upon our own, of the effort to bring order out of the confusion by friendly co-operative action, should fortunate occasion offer.

We should let every one who assumes to exercise authority in any part of Mexico know in the most unequivocal way that we shall vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who cannot get away, and shall hold those responsible for their sufferings and losses to a definite reckoning. That can be and will be made plain beyond the possibility of a misunderstanding.

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All the world expects us in such circumstances to act as Mexico's nearest friend and intimate adviser. This is our immemorial relation towards her. There is nowhere any serious question that we have the moral right in the case or that we

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are acting in the interest of a fair settlement and of good government, not for the promotion of some selfish interest of our own. If further motive were necessary than our own good will towards a sister Republic and our own deep concern to see peace and order prevail in Central America, this consent of mankind to what we are attempting, this attitude of the great nations of the world towards what we may attempt in dealing with this distressed people at our doors, should make us feel the more solemnly bound to go to the utmost length of patience and forbearance in this painful and anxious business. The steady pressure of moral force will before many days break the barriers of pride and prejudice down and we shall triumph as Mexico's friends sooner than we could triumph as her enemies—how much more handsomely, with how much higher and finer satisfactions of conscience and of honour !

THE AIM OF POLITICS

*(Address at Re-dedication of Congress Hall,
Philadelphia, October 25, 1913.)*

Politics, ladies and gentlemen, is made up in just about equal parts of comprehension and sympathy. No man ought to go into politics who does not comprehend the task that he is going to attack. He may comprehend it so completely that it daunts him, that he doubts whether his own spirit is stout enough and his own mind able enough to attempt its great undertakings, but unless he comprehend it he ought not to enter it. After he has comprehended it, there should come into his mind those profound impulses of sympathy which connect him with the rest of mankind, for politics is a business of interpretation, and no men are fit for it who do not see

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and seek more than their own advantage and interest.

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I love to think of those plain men, however far from plain their dress sometimes was, who assembled in this hall. One is startled to think of the variety of costume and colour which would now occur if we were let loose upon the fashions of that age. Men's lack of taste is largely concealed now by the limitations of fashion. Yet these men, who sometimes dressed like the peacock, were, nevertheless, of the ordinary flight of their time. They were birds of a feather; they were birds come from a very simple breeding; they were much in the open heaven. They were beginning, when there was so little to distract their attention, to show that they could live upon fundamental principles of government. We talk those principles, but we have not time to absorb them. We have not time to let them into our blood and thence have them translated into the plain mandates of action.

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The very smallness of this room, the very simplicity of it all, all the suggestions which come from its restoration, are reassuring things—things which it becomes a man to realize. Therefore my theme here to-day, my only thought, is a very simple one. Do not let us go back to the annals of those sessions of Congress to find out what to do, because we live in another age and the circumstances are absolutely different; but let us be men of that kind; let us feel at every turn the compulsions of principle and of honour which they felt; let us free our vision from temporary circumstances and look abroad at the horizon and take into our lungs the great air of freedom which blows through this country and has stolen across the seas and blessed people everywhere; and, looking east and west and north and south, let us remind ourselves that we are the custodians, in some degree, of the principles which have made men free and governments just.

DEFENCE OF MEXICAN POLICY

(Address at Indianapolis, July 8, 1915.)

There is one thing I have got a great enthusiasm about, I might almost say a reckless enthusiasm, and that is human liberty. The Governor has just now spoken about watchful waiting in Mexico. I want to say a word about Mexico, or not so much about Mexico as about our attitude towards Mexico. I hold it as a fundamental principle, and so do you, that every people has the right to determine its own form of government ; and until this recent revolution in Mexico, until the end of the Diaz reign, eighty per cent. of the people of Mexico never had a " look in " in determining who should be their governors or what their government should be. Now, I am for the eighty per cent. ! It is none

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of my business, and it is none of your business, how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business, and it is none of yours, how they go about the business. The country is theirs. The Government is theirs. The liberty, if they can get it, and Godspeed them in getting it, is theirs. And so far as my influence goes while I am President nobody shall interfere with them.

That is what I mean by a great emotion, the great emotion of sympathy. Do you suppose that the American people are ever going to count a small amount of material benefit and advantage to people doing business in Mexico against the liberties and permanent happiness of the Mexican people? Have not European nations taken as long as they wanted and spilt as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs, and shall we deny that to Mexico because she is weak? No, I say! I am proud to belong to a nation that says: "This country which we could crush shall

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have just as much freedom in her own affairs as we have." If I am strong I am ashamed to bully the weak. In proportion to my strength is my pride in withholding that strength from the oppression of another people. And I know when I speak these things, not merely from the generous response with which they have just met from you, but from my long-time knowledge of the American people, that that is the sentiment of this great people.

PEACE AND WAR

(Address at New York, January 27, 1916.)

Let no man dare to say, if he would speak the truth, that the preparation for national defence is a question of war or of peace. If there is one passion more deep-seated in the hearts of our fellow countrymen than another, it is the passion for peace. No nation in the world ever more instinctively turned away from the thought of war than this nation to which we belong. Partly because in the plenitude of its power, in the unrestricted area of its opportunities, it has found nothing to covet in the possession and power of other nations. There is no spirit of aggrandisement in America. There is no desire on the part of any thoughtful and conscientious American man to take one foot of

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territory from any other nation in the world. I myself share to the bottom of my heart that profound love for peace. I have sought to maintain peace against very great and sometimes very unfair odds. I have had many a time to use every power that was in me to prevent such a catastrophe as war coming upon this country. It is not permissible for any man to say that anxiety for the defence of the nation has in it the least tinge of desire for a power that can be used to bring on war.

But, gentlemen, there is something that the American people love better than they love peace. They love the principles upon which their political life is founded. They are ready at any time to fight for the vindication of their character and of their honour. They will not at any time seek the contest, but they will at no time cravenly avoid it; because if there is one thing that the individual ought to fight for, and that the nation ought to fight

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for, it is the integrity of its own convictions. We cannot surrender our convictions. I would rather surrender territory than surrender those ideals which are the staff of life of the soul itself. . . .

DEFENCE OF MEXICAN POLICY

*(Address after Re-nomination for Presidency,
September 2, 1916.)*

Many serious wrongs against the property, many irreparable wrongs against the persons, of Americans have been committed within the territory of Mexico herself during this confused revolution, wrongs which could not be effectually checked so long as there was no constituted power in Mexico which was in a position to check them. We could not act directly in that matter ourselves without denying Mexicans the right to any revolution at all which disturbed us and making the emancipation of her own people await our own interest and convenience.

For it is their emancipation that they are seeking—blindly, it may be, and as yet ineffectually, but with profound and

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passionate purpose and within their unquestionable right, apply what true American principle you will—any principle that an American would publicly avow. The people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own country or direct their own institutions. Outsiders, men out of other nations and with interests too often alien to their own, have dictated what their privileges and opportunities should be and who should control their land, their lives, and their resources—some of them Americans, pressing for things they could never have got in their own country. The Mexican people are entitled to attempt their liberty from such influences ; and so long as I have anything to do with the action of our great Government I should do everything in my power to prevent any one standing in their way.

I know that this is hard for some persons to understand ; but it is not hard for the plain people of the United States to understand. It is hard doctrine only for those

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who wish to get something for themselves out of Mexico. There are men, and noble women, too, not a few, of our own people, thank God! whose fortunes are invested in great properties in Mexico who yet see the case with true vision and assess its issues with true American feeling. The rest can be left for the present out of the reckoning until this enslaved people has had its day of struggle towards the light. I have heard no one who was free from such influences propose interference by the United States with the internal affairs of Mexico. Certainly no friend of the Mexican people has proposed it.

The people of the United States are capable of great sympathies and a noble pity in dealing with problems of this kind. As their spokesman and representative, I have tried to act in the spirit they would wish me to show. The people of Mexico are striving for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness—fifteen million oppressed men, overburdened women,

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and pitiful children in virtual bondage in their own home of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasure! Some of the leaders of the revolution may often have been mistaken and violent and selfish, but the revolution itself was inevitable and is right. The unspeakable Huerta betrayed the very comrades he served, traitorously overthrew the Government of which he was a trusted part, impudently spoke for the very forces that had driven his people to the rebellion with which he had pretended to sympathize. The men who overcame him and drove him out represent at least the fierce passion of reconstruction which lies at the very heart of liberty; and so long as they represent, however imperfectly, such a struggle for deliverance, I am ready to serve their ends when I can. So long as the power of recognition rests with me the Government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to any one who obtains power in a sister republic

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by treachery and violence. No permanency can be given the affairs of any republic by a title based upon intrigue and assassination. I declared that to be the policy of this Administration within three weeks after I assumed the presidency. I here again avow it. I am more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men and pitiful women and children than in any property rights whatever. Mistakes I have no doubt made in this perplexing business, but not in purpose or object.

THE LONELINESS OF LINCOLN

(*Address at Lincoln's birthplace, September 4, 1916.*)

I have read many biographies of Lincoln ; I have sought out with the greatest interest the many intimate stories that are told of him, the narratives of nearby friends, the sketches at close quarters, in which those who had the privilege of being associated with him have tried to depict for us the very man himself, " in his habit he lived " ; but I have nowhere found a real intimate of Lincoln's. I nowhere get the impression in any narrative or reminiscence that the writer had in fact penetrated to the heart of his mystery, or that any man could penetrate to the heart of it. This brooding spirit had no real familiars. I get the impression that it could not reveal itself

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completely to any one. It was a very lonely spirit that looked out from underneath those shaggy brows and comprehended men without fully communing with them, as if, in spite of all its genial efforts at comradeship, it dwelt apart, saw its visions of duty where no man looked on. There is a very holy and very terrible isolation for the conscience of every man who seeks to read the destiny in affairs of others as well as for himself, for a nation as well as for individuals. That privacy no man can intrude upon. That lonely search of the spirit for the right perhaps no man can assist. This strange child of the cabin kept company with invisible things, was born into no intimacy but that of his own silently assembling and deploying thoughts.

THE OBJECTS OF THE WAR

(*Congress, December 4, 1917.*)

But from another point of view I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the war to be for and what part we mean to play in the settlement of its searching issues. We are the spokesmen of the American people, and they have a right to know whether their purpose is ours. They desire peace by the overcoming of evil, by the defeat once for all of the sinister forces that interrupt peace and render it impossible, and they wish to know how closely our thought runs with theirs and what action we propose. They are impatient with those who desire peace by any sort of compromise—deeply and indignantly impatient—but they will be equally impatient with us if we do not make it plain to

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them what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms.

I believe that I speak for them when I say two things : First, that this intolerable Thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, this menace of combined intrigue and force which we now see so clearly as the German power, a Thing without conscience or honour or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations ; and, second, that when this Thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes when we can discuss peace—when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe, and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the bases of the law and of covenant for the life of the world—we shall be willing and

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glad to pay the full price for peace, and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice—justice done at every point and to every nation, and the final settlement must affect our enemies as well as our friends.

THE GERMAN PLAN PREPOSTEROUS

(Address at Baltimore, April 6, 1916.)

The thing is preposterous and impossible ; and yet is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies has meant wherever they have moved ? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with un pitying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

What, then, are we to do ? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely proposed—a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the

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German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honour and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether Justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether Right as America conceives it or Dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore,

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but one response possible from us : Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant Force which shall make Right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down to the dust.

THE PROGRAMME OF PEACE

(*Special Message to Congress, January 8, 1918.*)

The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, as we see it, is this :—

(1) Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

(2) Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

(3) The removal, so far as possible, of

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all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

(4) Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety.

(5) A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

(6) The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own

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political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing ; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their goodwill, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

(7) Belgium, the world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

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(8) All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interests of all.

(9) A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

(10) The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

(11) Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the seas; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another be determined by friendly counsel along lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political

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and economical independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

(12) The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life, and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be made permanently open as a free passage to the ships of all nations under international guarantees.

(13) An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

(14) A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants

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for the purpose of affording guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

